

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. 538

To prohibit the removal of Cuba from the list of state sponsors of terrorism until Cuba satisfies certain conditions, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 27, 2023

Mr. RUBIO (for himself, Mr. CRUZ, and Mr. SCOTT of Florida) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

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## A BILL

To prohibit the removal of Cuba from the list of state sponsors of terrorism until Cuba satisfies certain conditions, and for other purposes.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

**3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLES.**

4       This Act may be cited as the “Fighting Oppression  
5 until the Reign of Castro Ends Act” or the “FORCE  
6 Act”.

**7 SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

8       It shall be the policy of the United States—

- 1                         (1) to support the Cuban people’s desire to hold  
2                         free and fair elections, which are supervised by re-  
3                         spected international observers that respect the peo-  
4                         ple of Cuba’s desire for freedom and democracy;  
5                         (2) to encourage the international community  
6                         to raise their voices in support of the Cuban people’s  
7                         desire to live freely; and  
8                         (3) to demand the release of all political pris-  
9                         oners in Cuba.

10 **SEC. 3. PROHIBITION ON REMOVAL.**

11                         (a) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provi-  
12                         sion of law, neither the President nor the Secretary of  
13                         State may remove Cuba from the list of state sponsors  
14                         of terrorism until the President makes the determination  
15                         described in section 205 of the Cuban Liberty and Demo-  
16                         cratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (22 U.S.C.  
17                         6065).

18                         (b) DEFINED TERM.—In this section, the term “state  
19                         sponsor of terrorism” means a country the government of  
20                         which the Secretary of State determines has repeatedly  
21                         provided support for international terrorism pursuant  
22                         to—

23                         (1) section 1754(c)(1)(A) of the Export Control  
24                         Reform Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C. 4318(c)(1)(A));

- 1                         (2) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act  
2                         of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371);  
3                         (3) section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act  
4                         (22 U.S.C. 2780); or  
5                         (4) any other provision of law.

6 **SEC. 4. REPORT.**

7                         (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
8                         date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall sub-  
9                         mit a report to the Committee on Foreign Relations of  
10                        the Senate, the Select Committee on Intelligence of the  
11                        Senate, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House  
12                        of Representatives, and the Permanent Select Committee  
13                        on Intelligence of the House of Representatives that iden-  
14                        tifies all terrorists and fugitives who—

15                         (1)(A) have been convicted for a terrorism-re-  
16                         lated offense in a United States court;  
17                         (B) fled the United States after being indicted  
18                         for a terrorism-related offense, but before standing  
19                         trial; or  
20                         (C) are members of a foreign terrorist organiza-  
21                         tion; and

22                         (2) are being provided safe haven in Cuba.

23                         (b) FORM.—Each report submitted under this section  
24                         shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may include  
25                         a classified annex.

1   **SEC. 5. PROHIBITION OF FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS BENE-**

2                 **FITTING THE CUBAN REGIME.**

3                 (a) IN GENERAL.—No person subject to the jurisdic-  
4         tion of the United States may engage in a direct financial  
5         transaction, including electronic remittances, with any en-  
6         tity or subentity that the Secretary of State, in consulta-  
7         tion with the Secretary of the Treasury, determines to be  
8         under the control of, or acting for or on behalf of, the  
9         Cuban military, intelligence, or security services or per-  
10       sonnel with which direct financial transactions would dis-  
11       proportionately benefit such services or personnel at the  
12       expense of the Cuban people or private enterprise in Cuba.

13                 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING SANCTIONS.—  
14         It is the sense of Congress that the Secretary of the Treas-  
15       ury should expand and tighten sanctions programs to en-  
16       sure beneficial ownership disclosure and material support  
17       clauses to penalize tax havens for entities used by sanc-  
18       tioned countries, as was recently disclosed in the OpenLux  
19       investigation of the Cuban military's use of destinations  
20       such as Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, and Hong Kong.

21   **SEC. 6. IMPLEMENTATION.**

22                 (a) UPDATE AND PUBLICATION OF ENTITY LIST.—  
23         Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment  
24       of this Act, and annually thereafter, the Secretary of State  
25       shall—

1                         (1) in furtherance of the regulatory changes de-  
2                         scribed in this section, identify the entities or sub-  
3                         entities, as appropriate, that are under the control  
4                         of, or act for or on behalf of, the Cuban military, in-  
5                         telligence, or security services or personnel, including  
6                         GAESA, its affiliates, subsidiaries, and successors;

7                         (2) update a list of the entities and subentities  
8                         identified pursuant to paragraph (1) with which di-  
9                         rect financial transactions would disproportionately  
10                         benefit such services or personnel at the expense of  
11                         the Cuban people or private enterprise in Cuba; and

12                         (3) make the list updated pursuant to para-  
13                         graph (2) available to the public.

14                         (b) LIMITATION.—

15                         (1) PROHIBITED TRANSACTIONS.—Except as  
16                         provided in subsection (a) and section 8, the regu-  
17                         latory changes described in this section shall prohibit  
18                         direct financial transactions with any entity or sub-  
19                         entity on the list updated pursuant to subsection  
20                         (a)(2).

21                         (2) ALLOWED TRANSACTIONS.—The regulatory  
22                         changes described in this section may not prohibit  
23                         any transaction that the Secretary of the Treasury  
24                         or the Secretary of Commerce, in coordination with  
25                         the Secretary of State, determines is consistent with

1       the policy of the United States, including trans-  
2       actions concerning—

3                 (A) Federal Government operations, in-  
4                 cluding operations at the Naval Station at  
5                 Guantanamo Bay and at the United States mis-  
6                 sion in Havana;

7                 (B) programs seeking to build democracy  
8                 in Cuba;

9                 (C) air and sea operations that support  
10                 permissible travel, cargo, or trade;

11                 (D) the acquisition of visas for permissible  
12                 travel;

13                 (E) the expansion of direct telecommuni-  
14                 cations and internet access for the Cuban peo-  
15                 ple;

16                 (F) the sale of agricultural commodities,  
17                 medicines, and medical devices sold to Cuba in  
18                 accordance with the Trade Sanctions Reform  
19                 and Export Enhancement Act of 2000 (22  
20                 U.S.C. 7201 et seq.) and the Cuban Democracy  
21                 Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6001 et seq.);

22                 (G) sending, processing, or receiving au-  
23                 thorized remittances that do not wholly, or in  
24                 any part, benefit any entity or subentity on the  
25                 list updated pursuant to subsection (a)(2);

5           (c) PROTECTION OF NATIONAL INTERESTS.—Any ac-  
6 tivity conducted pursuant to subsection (a) or (b) shall  
7 be carried out in a manner that furthers the national in-  
8 terests of the United States, including by appropriately  
9 protecting sensitive sources, methods, and operations of  
10 the Federal Government.

## **11 SEC. 7. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.**

(a) DEFINED TERM.—In this section, the term “appropriate congressional committees” means—

1                   (b) REPORT ON THE INVOLVEMENT OF FIDEL CAS-  
2 TRO, RAÚL CASTRO, AND MIGUEL DÍAZ-CANEL IN PUB-  
3 LIC CORRUPTION AND OTHER ILLICIT ACTIVITIES.—Not  
4 later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this  
5 Act, the Secretary of State, acting through the Bureau  
6 of Intelligence and Research of the Department of State,  
7 and in coordination with the Director of National Intel-  
8 ligence, shall submit a report to the appropriate congres-  
9 sional committees that describes—

10                   (1) significant acts of public corruption in Cuba  
11                   that—

12                   (A) involve—  
13                         (i) members of El Partido Comunista  
14                         de Cuba; or

15                         (ii) senior officials of the Cuban re-  
16                         gime, including members of La Asamblea  
17                         Nacional del Poder Popular, GAESA, and  
18                         the Ministerio del Interior;

19                         (B) pose challenges for United States na-  
20                         tional security and regional stability;

21                         (C) impede the realization of freedom of  
22                         expression; or

23                         (D) infringe upon the fundamental free-  
24                         doms of civil society and political opponents in  
25                         Cuba; and

1                             (2) activities of the Maduro regime in Ven-  
2                             ezuela taking place in Cuba, including—  
3                                 (A) cooperation between Venezuela and  
4                             Cuba’s military personnel, intelligence services,  
5                             and security forces;  
6                                 (B) cooperation related to telecommuni-  
7                             cations and satellite navigation;  
8                                 (C) other political and economic coopera-  
9                             tion with the Government of Cuba; and  
10                                 (D) the threats and risks that such activi-  
11                             ties pose to United States national interests  
12                             and national security.

13                             (c) NOTIFICATION OF ANY ENGAGEMENT OF THE  
14                             UNITED STATES WITH CUBA.—The Secretary of State,  
15                             in coordination with the Secretary of the Treasury, the  
16                             Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary  
17                             of Commerce, and the Secretary of Homeland Security,  
18                             shall notify the appropriate congressional committees of  
19                             any engagement of the United States with Cuba not later  
20                             than 14 days after such engagement to ensure that such  
21                             engagement is advancing the interests of the United  
22                             States.

23                             **SEC. 8. TERMINATION.**

24                             The limitation set forth in section 6(b)(1) shall termi-  
25                             nate on the date that is 90 days after the date on which

1 the President certifies to Congress that the Government  
2 of Cuba—

3               (1) has taken the necessary steps to begin an  
4               electoral process that is transparent, free, and fair  
5               in accordance with sections 205 and 206 of the  
6               Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity  
7               (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (Public Law 104–114);  
8               and

9               (2) has met the requirements for the termina-  
10              nation of the economic embargo set forth in section  
11              204 of such Act.

